

A CENTURY AND A HALF OF HAUSA LANGUAGE STUDIES

Paul N. Newman

0. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The objective of this presentation is to provide a historical picture of the development of Hausa language studies over the past hundred and fifty years. In organising this historical overview, I have broken up the history of Hausa studies into four periods. These periods, of course, overlap and are not discrete. One reason why it is so difficult to set up distinct periods is that there seems to be something healthy about being involved in Hausa language studies. What I am referring to is the fact that many of the distinguished Hausa scholars are men who lived to be 80 and 90 years old, i.e. they lived long periods of time extending from the 19th into the 20th century. Thus, sometimes when we put someone in a 19th century period for purposes of discussion, we are surprised to find that this scholar was still living in 1950 or thereabouts.

Historical periods are also artificial in that chronological dates and conceptual developments do not always go hand in hand. For example, two contemporaneous scholars could easily occupy different periods in that the work of one might be more traditional and linked to the past while the work of the other was more innovative and linked to the future. Nevertheless, for the sake of providing coherence and organisation to this historical overview, I think that grouping scholars into distinct periods, however inexact, is useful.

As a final preliminary note, let me say that I am not intending to provide a complete history of Hausa language studies in which every single scholar who ever worked on the language is mentioned. In the first place, I am limiting myself essentially to work on Hausa language and linguistics. For an excellent treatment of works on Hausa literature, one should consult the fine book recently published by Dr Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya (1988). Second, what I am aiming for is an overall survey that takes most of the major figures into account, but in which other individuals will unfortunately be neglected. Hopefully, I shall not overlook anyone of significant historical importance.

1. THE EARLY PERIOD (1843-1918)

The early period begins a century and a half ago and covers the years until 1918. This period, which closes with the end of the First World War, was characterised by the beginnings of European interest in Hausaland. It was the period of exploration and commercial, religious and political involvement in West Africa by the English, French and Germans leading up to the establishment of colonial rule. Since the history of Hausa scholarship is inextricably tied up with

European conflicts and activities, I shall, for the purpose of convenience, group the major Hausa scholars in the early periods according to nationality.

a. Heinrich Barth (1821-1865), Adam Mischlich (1864-1948)

An obvious person with whom to begin a history of Hausa language studies is Heinrich Barth, a German explorer who travelled across the Sahara and spent some five years between the years 1850 and 1855 in the sub-Saharan area. He spent time in Borno, in Kano and other Hausa towns, and then went all the way to Timbuktu, being one of the first European scholars to visit that city. One of Barth's servants during his travels was a Hausa boy named Dorugu, who accompanied him all the way back to Europe. An English translation of Dorugu's remarkable story is to be found in a book that I published jointly with Anthony Kirk-Greene). Barth later wrote a large book in many volumes providing word lists and brief outlines of the many languages that he had had the opportunity to study during his trip. Included in this was a sketch of Hausa, which was a remarkably accurate and insightful description of the language for someone writing at that time.

The second German scholar one needs to mention is Adam Mischlich, whose knowledge of Hausa came from the first-hand experience he had with the language while working as a missionary in Togo. Although he lived until 1948, his major Hausa publication, a 1906 dictionary and a 1911 grammar, place him in the early period. One of the interesting things about Mischlich's dictionary is that all the entries were given in ajami [Arabic script] as well as in boko [Latin script], a tradition that was dropped by later scholars. In Mischlich's case, it is fortunate that he did use both scripts - and this has definitely increased the usefulness of his work - since his ajami transcriptions were often more accurate, particularly with regard to vowel length, than his boko transcriptions. The reason for this, I believe, is that the ajami entries were written for Mischlich by his Hausa assistant (Alhaji Umar). while the boko entries represented Mischlich's own rendering of oral Hausa, where transcription errors were likely to creep in. It should be pointed out that this pattern of cooperation whereby a knowledgeable native-speaking Hausa scholar worked alongside a European scholar was (and remains) typical of Hausa lexical and grammatical research. But, and this is something about which we Europeans should feel some shame, the Hausa partner in the research seldom was given the full recognition that he deserved, neither on the title page nor in the acknowledgements.

b. James Frederick Schön (1803-1889), Charles H. Robinson (1861-1925)

The second group of people were the British Hausaists. A name that many will be surprised to find here is James Frederick Schön, who is usually described as a German scholar. Schön was in fact born in Germany, but since his adult life was spent primarily in England and since his scholarly publications were written in the English language, it makes more sense to view him as part

of the British scholarly tradition. Schön, a missionary with the Church Missionary Society, never actually visited Hausaland, although he did travel to southern Nigeria as part of the Niger expedition. His initial knowledge of Hausa, which is reflected in his 1843 grammatical sketch, was acquired from Hausa speakers in Sierra Leone; but his major works - a dictionary, a grammar, and extensive texts - were derived primarily from the speech of Dorugu, the young servant whom Barth had brought back to England. These 19th century books, which were published at a time when there was very little knowledge of Hausa available, were really very good works. Although details were not spelled out the way that we would expect them to be today, the essentials of Hausa grammar were already present. Schön of course did not see the systematic nature of the Hausa verbal system - this would have to wait another hundred years until Parsons' writings appeared on the scene - but he already grasped the idea that the core meaning of a verb root in Hausa could be altered by changes in its termination, what we now call the "grade" endings.

The other major English figure in the pre-war period and beyond was Charles H. Robinson. Robinson published a grammar (1897) and a dictionary (1899/1900), both of which became the standard works in the field. Robinson was recognised as the dominant figure in Hausa scholarship throughout the first part of the 20th century. His dictionary, which had extensive English-Hausa as well as Hausa-English sections, went through four revisions, and the grammar, now almost a hundred years old, can still be found occasionally in London bookshops. Like Mischlich's dictionary, the first edition of Robinson's dictionary also included ajami entries; but consistent with British colonial government policy regarding Hausa orthography, the use of the ajami was discontinued in later editions.

c. Maurice Delafosse (1870-1926)

The most prominent of the early French scholars to work on Hausa was Maurice Delafosse. Delafosse, who was probably the leading French Africanist of his period, is not normally associated with Hausa studies since his major work was on the description and classification of languages of Ivory Coast and the surrounding areas of the West African coast. Nevertheless, he did produce one of the first French studies of Hausa (1901); a small book containing a grammatical sketch, texts, and vocabulary. Around the turn of the century, the French government sent out a combined military/scientific expedition to explore the huge region on the southern edge of the Sahara (including present-day Niger) which had recently become French territory. Out of this came two large works on Hausa prepared by M. Landeroin and J. Tilho: a dictionary (Hausa-French and French-Hausa) and a grammar and texts, both published in 1909. There is one other French work of this early period that I would like to mention, not so much because of its historical importance but because of its intrinsic interest. This is a dictionary published in 1886 by J.M. le Roux based entirely, as far as one can determine, on the speech of one Hausa woman living in Algiers. From a

scholarly point of view the book is unreliable and out of date, but what is remarkable about it is its aesthetic beauty. The book, which I was fortunate to be able to see a few years ago when I visited Niamey, consists of over 300 beautifully produced hand-written pages, with all the Hausa entries in ajami as well as in Latin script.

2. THE MIDDLE PERIOD (1918-1944)

We now move to the second period, which from a European perspective was the period between the wars, i.e. from the end of the First World War to the end of the Second World War. This was the time during which the major European powers consolidated their control over their colonies and put their colonial administrations into operation.

a. Diedrich Westermann (1875-1956), August Klingenheben (1886-1967), Carl Meinhof (1857-1944).

In spite of having lost their colonies in the First World War, the German tradition of Hausa studies continued quite strongly with a number of major German scholars working on the language. One can begin with Diedrich Westermann, a scholar with a long and distinguished career in African linguistics. Like Delafosse, Westermann was a specialist in the languages of the west coast of Africa, but he was also a general Africanist of great breadth. He wrote major comparative works on West Sudanic languages as well as descriptive grammars of languages such as Ewe, Kpelle and Shilluk. Hausa was not Westermann's primary interest, but he did publish a grammar of the language in 1911, and when Bargery published his great dictionary in 1934, he turned to Westermann to write the introduction, which served to place Hausa in its historical and linguistic setting.

August Klingenheben, the second of the great German scholars of this period, is well-known as an important contributor to Fulani language studies. His Ph.D. dissertation, however, was on Hausa, specifically a description of the Katagum dialect. Although the dissertation itself was never published, Klingenheben did publish a number of articles on Hausa. The most important, and the one that has earned for Klingenheben a permanent place in Hausa linguistic history, is a study of consonant weakening in syllable final position (as manifested, for example, in the dialect variants *abduga* = *auduga* 'cotton' and *biyat* = *biyar* 'five'), changes which have come to be known as "Klingenheben's laws".

The third major German scholar of this period was Carl Meinhof, who, during his long life, was without a doubt the dominant figure in African linguistics throughout the world. From the beginning of the century until the time of Joseph Greenberg, Meinhof's classification of the languages of Africa was the standard framework on which all scholars depended and which served as the basis for library classifications and similar practical matters. Meinhof published a brief grammatical sketch of Hausa (1912); but he is important to Hausa scholarship

primarily because he put his authority and prestige behind the classification of Hausa into the "Hamitic" language family. Although Meinhof's "Hamitic" family as originally conceived has been shown subsequently to be false, Meinhof did correctly point out that Hausa's genealogical ties are not with other West African languages spoken to the south, but rather with Ancient Egyptian, and the Berber and Cushitic languages spoken across the Sahara to the north and the east.

b. F.W. Taylor (1887-196?), G.P. Bargery (1876-1966), R.C. Abraham (1890-1963)

Of the British scholars in the middle period, one should begin with F.W. Taylor, who produced significant works on Fulani as well as on Hausa. His grammar (1923) was for a long time the only alternative to Robinson's standard work, which Taylor considered to be much inferior to his own. Taylor deserves a special place in Hausa linguistics because he seems to have been the first scholar to recognise that Hausa was a tone language. Before Taylor's time, scholars, whose ideas about tone were derived from the study of such languages as Ewe and Yoruba, thought that Hausa was a stress language. Hausa pitch distinctions were viewed either as stress or as intonation. Taylor misconstrued the Hausa tonal system in the sense that he had a complicated system involving five different tone levels whereas phonemically the language has only two; but, by demonstrating the distinctiveness and importance of tone in Hausa, he set the groundwork for all future analyses of the language.

G.P. Bargery stands at the pinnacle of Hausa linguistic scholarship. He represents the culmination of everything that went before him and the guiding light for everyone who has come after him. One could easily talk three hours alone about Bargery and the importance of his dictionary to Hausa language studies. It is a work that by virtue of its size, scope, and quality ranks among the finest dictionaries ever published of any African language. Over twenty years of dedicated labour went into the preparation of the dictionary, which is marked by comprehensiveness and attention to detail. What is so striking about Bargery was his sense of the semantic richness of Hausa as represented in its lexicon. If one looks up the word *k'ato* 'huge', for example, one will find some fifty or so other Hausa words listed that related to the concept of "hugeness", each with slightly different connotations and different nuances. Bargery's dictionary also far surpassed all previous works in its degree of phonological accuracy. The glottalised consonants were all indicated correctly; the distinction between the rolled and flapped R was consistently marked; vowel length was noted carefully; and, finally, all Hausa main entries were fully tone marked. As would be expected, Bargery's dictionary was not perfect - we have learned since then, for example that Hausa only has two distinct tone levels whereas Bargery marked three - but, a half century later it still has not been surpassed.

The other major figure in this period - a giant of African linguistic scholarship in his own right - was R.C. Abraham. Although Abraham worked together with Bargery for a few years on Bargery's dictionary, they were really

very different kinds of people representing very different traditions. Bargery was a missionary who lived a good part of his life in Northern Nigeria; Abraham was a colonial officer whose travels took him to a number of what were then British colonies. Bargery worked almost exclusively on Hausa; Abraham was a prolific writer and energetic worker whose publications include books on Yoruba, Ibo, Tiv, Amharic, and Somali in addition to Hausa. Bargery devoted himself to Hausa lexicography; Abraham was equally interested in grammar, phonology, and textual materials. Finally, Bargery was a humble, soft-spoken man while Abraham was more of an egotist who sought recognition for his achievements.

Abraham's reputation in Hausa studies is based primarily on two works. First, there is his dictionary (1949), an excellent work, rich in idiomatic usages, proverbs, epithets and such, which, however, must be viewed in many respects as a revised edition of Bargery rather than as a totally new work. Then, there is his reference grammar (1959), a systematic survey of the language which has not been superseded to this day. The publication dates would seem to put Abraham in a different historical period from Bargery, but they are misleading. The dictionary was clearly based on work that Abraham did with Bargery up to 1934. Thus Abraham and Bargery were clearly scholarly contemporaries (and competitors).

Before leaving this important middle period of Hausa scholarship, I should like to remark on an absence. Historians normally describe what happened, not what did not happen, but one needs to comment briefly on the lack of significant developments by French scholars during this period. The explanation has to do with differences in the British and French approaches to colonial rule and their effects on language policy. In Northern Nigeria, the British colonial administration viewed Hausa as a language of practical importance that should be studied and developed. Hausas were encouraged to become literate in their language (in boko) and colonial officers were encouraged to learn it for communicative purposes. In Niger, as in other French colonies, on the other hand, the teaching and use of French was viewed as part of the colonial "civilizing" mission. No systematic attempt was made to use the traditional institutions for administrative purposes and no effort was made to employ indigenous languages for administration, schooling, religious activities, or mass communication. Thus during the years when Hausa studies in Nigeria were making great strides forward due to the work of scholars such as Abraham and Bargery, Hausa in Niger was being neglected.

3. THE MODERN PERIOD (1944-1969)

Let me move on to what I call the modern period, the 25 years from 1944 until 1969. One thing that characterises this period as compared with the preceding ones is that these modern scholars are primarily academics with university teaching positions whereas most of the earlier scholars, with a few exceptions, were either missionaries or colonial officers. (There are of course people in this modern period who began their careers in Africa as administrative

officers, but their writings on Hausa relate to the time after they had made the transition to university academic life.) One consequence of the shift to the university is that works on Hausa now begin to appear in the form of linguistic articles in technical journals whereas the earlier generations of Hausaists tended to write books. Another striking characteristic of the modern period is the much larger number of people involved in one way or another in Hausa studies. Because of this, many scholars who deserve to be mentioned will inevitably be neglected; so let me repeat that the names that I present are understood to be representative of work in the period and not fully inclusive. In listing scholars belonging to the modern period, I have divided the names into two groups, (i) and (ii), the significance of which will become clear in a moment.

- (i)a. Joseph H. Greenberg, Carleton T. Hodge, Charles H. Kraft**
- b. Jack Carnochan, A.H.M. Kirk-Greene**
- c. Johannes Lukas, Hans-Heinrich Wängler**
- d. Nina Pilszczikowa, Petr Zima**

The first three scholars represent prominent Americans who have worked on Hausa. Joseph Greenberg, who later went on to achieve fame with his comprehensive classification of the languages of Africa and his work on language universals and language typology, began as a Hausaist. Greenberg, along with Professor J. Lukas, whom we will discuss soon, was primarily responsible for the now accepted classification of Hausa within the Chadic family. He also wrote a number of concise articles on Hausa proper, including insightful papers on phonology (especially vowel length and tone), verse prosody, and on Arabic and Kanuri loanwords in Hausa. Most people, who nowadays think of Greenberg as a general theoretical linguist, would be surprised to learn that his Ph.D. dissertation was not on the Hausa language, but rather on Maguzawa religion, a thesis based on field research that he conducted in Nigeria in the late 1930's.

Carleton Hodge, whose interest in recent years has been on the relationship of Hausa to other languages, especially long-range relations, also wrote his dissertation on Hausa. In this case it was a dissertation on the language, based on research carried out with a Hausa speaker who was living in America at the time. (It was only years later that Hodge had the opportunity to visit Nigeria.) Hodge is perhaps best known, however, for his pedagogical Hausa course, the "FSI course", which is the first attempt to apply modern ideas of second language learning to the teaching of Hausa to non-native speakers. This combination of technical linguistic work on Hausa together with the application of this knowledge to the preparation of practical teaching manuals also characterises Charles Kraft, whose many works include the Teach Yourself Hausa book, which he wrote jointly with Anthony Kirk-Greene.

In England, where SOAS was the hub of African language teaching and research, a large number of people continued the long British tradition of scholarly interest in Hausa, on literature as well as on language. Names such as Arnott, Gidley, and Hiskett immediately come to mind. I would like, however,

to signal out two people. First, there is Jack Carnochan, whose early detailed study of Hausa phonetics turned out to be so important for an understanding of Hausa morphology and grammar. I am thinking here especially of Carnochan's work on final vowel length (one of the few areas of Hausa phonology that Bargery, and Abraham after him, totally misrepresented), which set the groundwork for Parsons' later work on Hausa "grades". Second, there is A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, who is not a SOAS linguist, but rather a historian and political scientist at Oxford University. In his work, however, he has always shown a keen interest in the Hausa language, especially with regard to questions of language modernisation and change. He also deserves recognition as the co-author of the Teach Yourself Hausa volume.

In Germany, I shall mention two people. The first is the late Professor Johannes Lukas of Hamburg University, who was unquestionably the founder and predominant figure in the study of the Chadic language family as a whole. (He was also a leading expert on Kanuri.) Lukas tended to work on Chadic languages other than Hausa, e.g. Logone, Musgu, Bade, Karekare, Bole, among others; but he always had a deep interest in Hausa and through his teaching, perhaps more so than through his writings, he contributed greatly to the development of Hausa Studies in Germany. The other, who is less well known, is Hans-Heinrich Wängler, a scholar who produced some remarkable phonetic works on Hausa tone. Working primarily by ear, with the help of tuning forks but without modern laboratory instruments, Wängler was able to describe in detail the pitch of Hausa utterances and the interplay between tone and intonational factors.

Because of my own linguistic limitations, I have had to neglect works written in Eastern European languages. (We know, for example, that Russian scholars have done quite a lot of work on Hausa, including the publication of large dictionaries.) There are, however, two scholars, Nina Pilszczikowa from Poland and Petr Zima from Czechoslovakia, who have published important works in English and French on topics such as Hausa classification, dialectology, the verbal system, and tonology and who, therefore, fully deserve to be mentioned in this overview.

(ii) Neil Skinner, Claude Gouffé, F.W. Parsons

In the modern period I have chosen to subdivide the scholars into two groups. This is because out of the many individuals who have contributed to Hausa studies during this period, there are three scholars who have to be set apart due to their singular importance. These are Neil Skinner, Claude Gouffé and F.W. Parsons.

Skinner is a prolific author who has published a large number of valuable works on Hausa: dictionaries, grammars, readers, translations, pedagogical materials for second language learners, and so on. Not only has he produced materials for the scholarly world of Hausaists, but he has also designed works for practical use in the schools and communities within Nigeria itself. In the tradition of the generation of British scholars that came before him, Skinner has been

primarily a writer of books (although he has certainly contributed his share of articles). In recent years, Skinner has branched out into the field of comparative Chadic, but he remains first and foremost a Hausaist.

The second person who belongs in this select group is Claude Gouffé. Because all of his works have been written in French, Gouffé is much less well known in Nigeria than Skinner, for example. But even outside Nigeria, Gouffé's work has not received the full recognition it deserves. He has been overlooked in part because the study of Hausa in the period after the Second World War was so dominated by the central position of SOAS and Parsons' teachings, and in part because Gouffé has not presented his findings on Hausa in a single easily accessible book-length work. Nevertheless, if anyone were to write a detailed intellectual history of Hausa linguistic studies, one would have to place Gouffé among the most significant contributors in the modern period. He has produced a wealth of articles on Hausa dealing with all aspects of the language: semantics, syntax, morphology, phonology and lexicography. What characterises all of his work is thoroughness and attention to detail, a true dedication to the concept that linguistic analysis, however insightful and imaginative, absolutely requires that the facts being discussed have been checked and double checked and are guaranteed to be correct.

The third person in this special group, F.W. Parsons, is so well known that one almost does not have to say anything about him. (A biographical sketch with a complete list of his publications is found in the book that was recently published in honour of his 80th birthday (1988)). Parsons is universally acknowledged as the central figure in Hausa linguistic scholarship in the period from the Second World War to the present. All of the linguistic work that the rest of us do inevitably refers back to the writings and teachings of Parsons. For example, the idea of verb "grades" developed by Parsons in a now classic article has become as much a part of our general understanding of Hausa as are noun classes in Bantu languages or cases in European languages. Similarly, through key articles, Parsons established the foundation for studies of Hausa gender, plurality, abstract nouns of sensory quality, phonaesthetic verbal suffixes, and so on. Interestingly Parsons actually published relatively little, when compared, for example, with Skinner or Gouffé. Much of his influence on Hausa studies was exerted through his colleagues and students at SOAS, who heard Parsons' lectures or who pored over his voluminous mimeographed classroom notes and drills. Fortunately, much of this unpublished material was put together and edited by Dr Graham Furniss and is now available for scholarly purposes.

4. THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD (1969-1989)

Let me now turn to the contemporary period, which brings us up to the present. For this period, I have changed the basis of the organisation. In discussing the previous periods, I have generally grouped scholars by nationality as a convenient way of presenting the historical developments. For this last

twenty year period, however, I prefer to organise the discussion around key concepts or themes.

a. The comparative/historical factor

What I mean by this is looking at Hausa not as a language strictly by itself, but from the perspective of its related languages. One studies the history of Hausa so that one can understand its present phonology and grammar in terms of the ways it has developed and changed over time. The attempt here is to see how Hausa fits in with phenomena we find in other Chadic languages. Scholars in earlier periods were concerned with the classification of Hausa in relation to other languages: the idea that Hausa might be related to Semitic languages was proposed as early as the middle of the 19th century. But it has only been in this contemporary period that scholars have begun to bring their knowledge of related languages to bear on the understanding of the present structure of Hausa itself. If I may be allowed to say so, it is my own work that has primarily initiated this approach to the study of Hausa. This is understandable when one realises that my early work was not on Hausa - I only later delved into the study of Hausa, which has since become my major area of interest - but rather on smaller languages spoken in northeaster Nigeria, such as Tera and Kanakuru. Through historical comparative means, I have, for example, tried to throw some light on the origin and development in Hausa of the grade system and have explained properties of gender marking, indirect object pronouns, and question formation. This kind of approach has been increasingly adopted by other scholars, most notably by Russell G. Schuh and Herrmann Jungraithmayr, both of whom have also published pedagogical grammars of the language. It is interesting to comment on how negative the reaction to this approach was among many people when I first proposed it. Some twenty years ago, I presented a paper in Zaria with the provocative title "Study Kanakuru, understand Hausa", the idea being that there were certain irregularities in Hausa that one could understand only by looking at a sister language such as Kanakuru, in the same way that certain phenomena in English appear more systematic when one looks at its sister languages German and Dutch. At first the idea met with skepticism, since the membership of Hausa within the Chadic family was still not fully accepted at that point. Now, however, it is well established that Hausa is a member of the Chadic language family, a large family of some 140 or so languages spoken in Nigeria, northern Cameroon and central Chad (cf. Newman & Ma 1966), and the value of looking at Hausa in comparison with its sister languages such as Karekare and Bole is fully recognised.

b. The theoretical factor

By this theme, I refer to the fact that the study of Hausa has gradually become incorporated into the broader study of general linguistics. The very early Hausaists were not professionally trained linguists as such; they were lexicographers, philologists, writers, teachers, amateur scholars, and usually

lovers of the Hausa language. What has happened in more recent times is that scholars are increasingly employing the insights and analytical tools of general linguistics in the study of Hausa. For example, William R. Leben has applied the latest advances in theoretical phonology to the analysis of Hausa tone. The incorporation of theoretical perspectives is also evident, for example, in the areas of syntax (Ismail Junaidu), discourse analysis (Philip Jagger), lexicography (Roxana Ma Newman) and lexical borrowing (Bello Salim).

c. **The Nigerian/Nigerien factor**

The final theme that I should like to talk about - and in some ways it is the most important, which is why we are here right now at this symposium - is what I call the Nigerian/Nigerien factor. In arranging the historical periods, I set 1969 as the beginning of the contemporary period. This date was not chosen arbitrarily. It was the year that the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages was founded, an important event that symbolises the transition of Hausa scholarship from the hands of Europeans to the hands of Hausas themselves. There of course had been work on Hausa by Hausas before this time - one can think, for example, of the grammar by A. Howeidy (1953) - but the real change did not come until the contemporary period. This gradual transition can be seen in the history of the Centre itself. One can compare the early days of the Centre, when I, an American, served as Director of a combined team of Nigerians and Europeans, with the subsequent Centre, whose work, under the directorships of Professor Dandatti Abdulkadir and Dr Abba Rufa'i, has been primarily in the hands of Nigerian researchers and scholars. In pointing to the symbolic importance of 1969, one must note that this was also the year when Professor Kabir Galadanci completed his London Ph.D. dissertation, the first dissertation, as far as I am aware, awarded to a Hausa person for a linguistic study of Hausa. This turning point was followed by the Ph.D. dissertations of Bashir Ikara at Leeds (1975), Dauda Bagari at UCLA (1976), Abba Rufa'i at Georgetown (1977), after which Hausa dissertations appeared in rapidly increasing number, the most recent being that of Sammani Sani at Indiana (1988). The number of Ph.D.'s on Hausa language and literature by Hausas has grown so large that one cannot mention all of them individually. However, in documenting the shift in Hausa studies from an external to an internal phenomenon, one must make special note of the fact that it is no longer necessary for Hausas to go abroad to obtain Ph.D.'s in Hausa linguistics since this degree is now offered at Bayero University, the first being that of M.M. Garba (1982). This expansion of Hausas working on their own language has brought new and important insights into its workings and structure (cf. R. Zarruk's study of Hausa verbs). Non-native speakers can carry research into a language only so far. After that one needs the intuition and abilities of a native speaker linguist to push the studies to newer and deeper dimensions. This is what is now happening in Hausa studies, which is why the field is so vibrant and exciting. These developments are taking place not only in Nigeria but also, much belatedly, in Niger as well. In Niger there is a

new generation of Hausas springing up which has just begun to free itself from the constraints of the French colonial legacy. These young people, such as Bachir Attouman and Abdou Mijinguini, are now undertaking the kinds of activities and accomplishing the kinds of results that have characterised the Centre, whose twenty years of impressive achievement we are so proud to celebrate at this time.

REFERENCES

- Abraham, R.C. 1934. The Principles of Hausa. Kaduna: Government Printer.
- Abraham, R.C. 1941. A Modern Grammar of Spoken Hausa. London: Crown Agents for the Colonies (published on behalf of the Nigerian Government).
- Abraham, R.C. 1959. The Language of the Hausa People. London: University of London Press.
- Abraham, R.C., and Mai Kano. 1949 Dictionary of the Hausa Language. 1st ed. London: University of London Press.
- Bagari, Dauda Muhammad. 1976. Subordinate Adverbial Clauses in Hausa. Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA.
- Bargery, G.P. 1934. A Hausa-English Dictionary. London: Oxford University Press.
- Barth, Heinrich. 1862-1866. Collection of Vocabularies of Central African Languages. Gotha: Justus Perthes.
- Carnochan, Jack. 1951. A Study of quantity in Hausa. BSOAS 13: 1032-1044.
- Cowan, J. Ronayne, and Russell G. Schuh. 1976. Spoken Hausa. Ithaca: Spoken Language Services, Inc.
- Delafosse, Maurice. 1901. Manuel de langue haoussa. Paris: J. Maisonneuve.
- Furniss, Graham and Philip J. Jagger. 1988. Studies in Hausa Language and Linguistics. In Honour of F.W. Parsons. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Galadanci, Muhammad Kabir Mahmud. 1969. The Simple Nominal Phrase in Hausa. Ph.D. dissertation, SOAS, University of London.

Galadanci, Muhammad Kabir Mahmud. 1976. An Introduction to Hausa Grammar. I k e j a : Longman Nigeria.

Garba, Mohammed Magashi. 1982. Morphology of the Hausa Verbs: A Case Grammar Analysis. Ph.D. dissertation, Bayero University, Kano.

Gouffé, Claude. 1962. Observations sur le degré causatif dans un parler haoussa du Niger. Journal of African Languages 1:182-200.

Gouffé, Claude. 1965. La lexicographie du haoussa et le préalable phonologique. Journal of African Languages 4: 191-210.

Gouffé, Claude. 1966/67. Les problèmes de l'aspect en haoussa. II - Le problème de l'inaccompli I et II. GLECS 11: 29-67.

Gouffé, Claude. 1975. Redoublement et reduplication en haoussa: formes et fonctions. BSL 70(1): 291-319.

Gouffé, Claude. 1981. La langue haoussa. In Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne. I. Les langues de l'Afrique Subsaharienne, edited by G Manessy, pp. 415-428 [chapter 3]. Paris: CNRS.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1941. Some problems in Hausa phonology. Language 17: 316-323.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1946. The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion. New York: J.J. Augustine.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1947. Arabic loan-words in Hausa. Word 3:85-97.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1960. Linguistic evidence for the influence of Kanuri on the Hausa. Journal of African History 1: 205-212.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. The Languages of Africa. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Hair, P.E.H. 1967. The Early Study of Nigerian Languages: Essays and Bibliographies. West African Language Monographs, 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hodge, Carleton T. 1947. An Outline of Hausa Grammar. Language dissertation. Supplement to Language, 23.
- Hodge, Carleton T. 1966. Hausa-Egyptian establishment. Anthropological Linguistics 8 (1): 40-57.
- Hodge, Carleton T., and Ibrahim Umaru. 1963. Hausa Basic Course. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute.
- Howeidy, A. 1953. Concise Hausa Grammar. Oxford: George Ronald.
- Ikara, Bashir A. 1975. English as a Factor in the Process of Language Modernisation: a Study of the Impact of English on the Hausa Language. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leeds.
- Jaggar, Philip J. 1983. Some dimensions of topic-NP continuity in Hausa narrative. In Topic Continuity in Discourse: A Quantitative Cross-Language Study, edited by T. Givon, pp.365-424. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Junaidu, Ismail. 1987. Topicalisation in Hausa. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1968/69. Hausa, Ron, and Angas: a comparative analysis of their "aspect" systems. Afrika und Übersee 52: 15-22.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1970. On root augmentation in Hausa. Journal of African Languages 9: 83-88.
- Jungraithmayr, H., and W.J.G. Möhlig. 1976. Einführung in die Hausa-Sprache (Kursus für Kolleg und Sprachlabor). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. 1963. Neologisms in Hausa: a sociological approach. Africa 33: 25-44.
- Kirk-Greene, Anthony, and Paul Newman. 1971. West African Travels and Adventures: Two Autobiographical Narratives from Northern Nigeria. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Klingenheben, August. 1927/28. Die Silbenauslautgesetze des Hausa. Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen 18: 272-297.
- Kraft, Charles H. 1963. A Study of Hausa Syntax. Hartford: Hartford Seminary Foundation.

- Kraft, Charles H., and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene. 1973. Hausa. Teach Yourself Books. London: Hodder and Stroughton.
- Kraft, Charles H., and Marguerite G Kraft. 1973. Introductory Hausa. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Landeroin, M., and J. Tilho. 1909. Dictionnaire haoussa, comprenant haoussa-français et français-haoussa. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Landeroin, M., and J. Tilho. 1909. Grammaire et contes haoussa. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Laptukhin, Viktor V., and Ado Gwadabe Kano. 1967. Russko-Hausa Slovar' [Russian-Hausa Dictionary]. Moscow.
- Leben, William R. 1978. The representation of tone. In Tone: A Linguistic Survey, edited by V Fromkin, pp. 177-219. New York: Academic Press.
- Le Roux, J.M. 1886. Essai de dictionnaire français-haoussa et haoussa-français. Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1963. Der II. Stamm des Verbums im Hausa. Afrika und Übersee 47: 162-186.
- Meinhof, Carl. 1912. Die Sprachen der Hamiten. Hamburg: L. Freiderichsen.
- Mischlich, Adam. 1906. Wörterbuch der Hausasprache. Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, 20. Berlin: G. Reimer.
- Mischlich, Adam. 1911. Lehrbuch der Hausa-Sprache. Berlin: G. Reimer.
- Newman, Paul. 1970. A Grammar of Tera: Transformational Syntax and Texts. University of California Publications in Linguistics, 57. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Newman, Paul. 1972. Syllable weight as a phonological variable. Studies in African Linguistics 3: 301-323.
- Newman, Paul. 1973. Grades, vowel-tone classes and extensions in the Hausa verbal system. Studies in African Linguistics 4: 297-346.
- Newman, Paul. 1974. The Kanakuru Language. West African Language Monographs, 9. Leeds: Institute of Modern English Language Studies and West African Linguistic Society.

- Newman, Paul. 1979. Explaining Hausa feminines. Studies in African Linguistics 10:197-226.
- Newman, Paul. 1982. Grammatical restructuring in Hausa: indirect objects and possessives. Journal of African Languages and Linguistics 4:59-73.
- Newman, Paul. 1987. Hausa and the Chadic languages. In The World's Major Languages, edited by B. Comrie, pp. 705-723. London: Croom Helm.
- Newman, Paul, and Roxana Ma. 1966. Comparative Chadic: phonology and lexicon. Journal of African Languages 5: 218-251.
- Newman, Paul, and Roxana Ma Newman, et al. 1977. Modern Hausa-English Dictionary. Ibadan & Zaria: Oxford University Press (Nigeria).
- Newman, Paul, and Roxana Ma Newman. 1981. The question morpheme q in Hausa. Afrika und Übersee 64:35-46.
- Newman, Paul, and Russell G. Schuh. 1974. The Hausa aspect system. Afroasiatic Linguistics 1(1): 1-39.
- Newman, Roxana Ma. 1974. Dictionaries of the Hausa language. Harsunan Nigeriya 4: 1-25.
- Newman, Roxana Ma, et al. 1990. An English-Hausa Dictionary. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Olderogge, D.A. 1963. Hausa-Russkij Slovar' [Hausa-Russian Dictionary]. Moscow.
- Parsons, F.W. 1955. Abstract nouns of sensory quality and their derivatives in Hausa. In Afrikanistische Studien [Festschrift Westermann], edited by J. Lukas, pp. 373-404. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Parsons, F.W. 1960-61-63. An introduction to gender in Hausa. African Language Studies 1: 117-136, 2: 100-124, 4: 166-207.
- Parsons, F.W. 1960b. The verbal system in Hausa. Afrika und Übersee 44: 1-36.
- Parsons, F.W. 1971/72. Suppletion and neutralisation in the verbal system of Hausa. Afrika und Übersee 55: 49-97, 188-208.

- Parsons, F.W. 1981. Writings on Hausa Grammar: The Collected Papers of F.W. Parsons. Edited by G.L. Furniss. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Books on Demand.
- Pilszczikowa, Nina. 1958. Contribution à l'étude des rapports entre le haoussa et les autres langues du groupe nigéro-tschadien. Rocznik Orientalistyczny 22 (2): 75-99.
- Pilszczikowa, Nina. 1969. The Changing Form (Grade 2) of the Verb in Hausa. Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Rufa'i, Abba. 1977. Grammatical Agreement in Hausa. Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University.
- Salim, Bello Ahmad. 1982. Linguistic Borrowing as External Evidence on Phonology: The Assimilation of English Loanwords in Hausa. Ph.D. dissertation, University of York.
- Sani, Sammani. 1988. Political Language as a Source of Lexical Expansion: The Case of Hausa. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University.
- Schön, James Frederick. 1843. Vocabulary of the Hausa Language. London: Church Missionary Society.
- Schön, James Frederick. 1862. Grammar of the Hausa Language. London: Church Missionary House.
- Schön, James Frederick. 1876. Dictionary of the Hausa Language. London: Church Missionary House.
- Schuh, Russell G. 1982. The Hausa language and its nearest relatives. Harsunan Nijeriya 12: 1-24.
- Schuh, Russell G. 1989. Long vowels and diphthongs in Miya and Hausa. In Current Approaches to African Linguistics (vol.5), edited by P. Newman and R.D. Botne, pp. 35-43. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Skinner, A. Neil. 1985. Hausa Lexical Expansion since 1930: A Supplement to Bargery's Dictionary. Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin.
- Skinner, Neil. 1958. Hausa for Beginners. 1st ed. Zaria: NNPC.
- Skinner, Neil. 1965. Kamus na Turanci da Hausa. Zaria: NNPC.

Skinner, Neil. 1968a. Hausa Readings: Selections from Edgar's Tatsuniyoyi. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Skinner, Neil. 1968b. Hausa-English Pocket Dictionary. Ikeja: Longman Nigeria.

Skinner, Neil. 1977. A Grammar of Hausa. Zaria: NNPC.

Taylor, F.W. 1923. A Practical Hausa Grammar. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Taylor, F.W. 1927. A Fulani-Hausa Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wängler, Hans-Heinrich. 1963. Zur Tonologie des Hausa. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Westermann, Diedrich. 1911. Die Sprache der Haussa in Zentralafrika. Berlin: D. Reimer.

Yahaya, Ibrahim Yaro, 1988. Hausa a Rubuce: Tarihin Rubuce-Rubuce cikin Hausa. Zaria: NNPC.

Zarruk, Rabi'u M. [1984]. Aikatau a Nahawun Hausa. Zaria: ABU.

Zima, Petr. 1972. Problems of Categories and Word Classes in Hausa (The Paradigm of Case). Prague: Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.